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Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 CAIRO 09802

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PBOR PEPR EG IS
SUBJECT: WEIZMAN VISIT--EGYPTIAN ACCOUNT

SUMMARY: MUBARAK RELATES WEIZMAN'S MAIN PURPOSE SEEMED TO BE PROBING POSSIBILITY OF BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT. SADAT INSISTED HIS OBJECTIVE IS COMPREHENSIVE MIDDLE EAST PEACE, WHICH REQUIRES RESOLUTION PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. MUCH OF DISCUSSION CENTERED ON WEST BANK/GAZA, FROM WHICH WEIZMAN INSISTED ISRAELIS WILL NOT WITHDRAW. SADAT REPLIED THAT THIS MEANS NO SOLUTION CAN BE REACHED. PEACE PROCESS, SADAT SAID, SHOULD NOT BE STOPPED BECAUSE OF ISRAELI FIXATION. HE WAS PREPARED DISCUSS VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES TO ASSURE THAT ISRAEL'S SECURITY REQUIREMENTS ARE MET. PALESTINIAN ENTITY SHOULD EVENTUALLY BE LINKED WITH JORDAN OR, ALTERNATIVELY, BECOME A "DEMILITARIZED COUNTRY." ISRAEL SHOULD AGREE TO DECLARATION OF PRIN-CIPLES RE WITHDRAWAL ON ALL FRONTS AND EVERY CONFRONTATION STATE BE ASKED TO SIT DOWN WITH ISRAEL TO DISCUSS SECURITY NEEDS. WITH THIS KIND OF A DECLARATION, SADAT WOULD PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE HE READY TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS. TALKS INCONCLUSIVE AND NO PROGRESS MADE. WEIZMAN WILL REPORT TO CABINET ON SUNDAY, BUT PROPOSED SEND BARAK AND PERHAPS MEIR ROSENNE ON SECRET FOLLOW-UP VISIT AFTER
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ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS CONSIDERED WHAT KIND OF WEST BANK/ GAZA DETAILS MIGHT BE DISCUSSED. SADAT WILLING RECEIVE BARAK/ROSENNE IN TEN DAYS OR SO. WEIZMAN DID NOT APPEAR PLEASED WHEN TOLD USG WOULD BE BRIEFED ON TALKS. END SUMMARY.

1. ON SADAT'S INSTRUCTIONS, VP MUBARAK ASKED ME TO MEET

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WITH HIM THIS EVENING TO PROVIDE BRIEFING ON JUST-CONCLUDED WEIZMAN VISIT. BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION, MUBARAK RELATED THAT WEIZMAN MET TWICE WITH SADAT--TWO HOURS YESTERDAY AND 45 MINUTES TODAY. WEIZMAN HAD BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY BARAK. ALSO PRESENT AT THE MEETINGS WERE MUBARAK AND GAMASY. LAST EVENING, AFTER THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS, MUBARAK SAID HE CALLED SADAT TO OBTAIN AUTHORIZATION TO BRIEF ME. SADAT AGREED AND TOLD MUBARAK HE SHOULD INFORM WEIZMAN THAT THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR WOULD BE BRIEFED. ON HEARING THIS, WEIZMAN WAS VERY UNEASY. HE ASKED IF EGYPTIANS PLAN TO GIVE US ALL DETAILS. MUBARAK RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD GIVE ONLY "GENERAL IDEAS" ABOUT MEETINGS. AT 2330 LAST NIGHT GAMASY CALLED MUBARAK TO SAY WEIZMAN REMAINED ANXIOUS AS TO HOW MUCH DETAIL EGYPTIANS PROPOSED TO TELL US. MUBARAK REPLIED THAT HE WOULD PROVIDE THE "MAIN LINES" OF THE TALKS FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S INFORMATION. WEIZMAN, ACCORDING TO GAMASY, STRONGLY URGED THAT EGYPTIANS NOT DIVULGE DETAILS OF TALKS. WEIZMAN ALSO INDICATED THAT HE PLANNED TO BRIEF AMBASSADOR LEWIS FOLLOWING HIS RETURN.

2. MUBARAK THEN PROCEEDED TO RELATE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS. IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE OUTSET, ACCORDING TO MUBARAK, THAT WEIZMAN HAD COME PRIMARILY TO PROBE THE POSSIBILITY OF CONCLUDING A BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT. SUCH A BILATERAL AGREEMENT, WEIZMAN CONTENDED,

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WOULD BREAK THE STALEMATE AND STIMULATE OTHER ARAB STATES TO REACH SIMILAR AGREEMENTS. IT WOULD BE AGREEMENT NUMBER ONE IN A PROCESS. SADAT TOLD HIM THAT, AS ISRAELIS SHOULD KNOW, HE IS LOOKING FOR PEACE, NOT FOR ISRAEL AND EGYPT ALONE, BUT FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AS A WHOLE. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PEACE, HOWEVER, THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, WHICH IS THE CORE OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, MUST BE RESOLVED. FOR 45 MINUTES WEIZMAN "SPOKE AROUND PROBLEM," CONTINUALLY URGING THE EGYPTIANS TO AGREE TO A BILATERAL AGREEMENT. WHEN SADAT REFUSED, WEIZMAN SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO REPORT TO BEGIN AND GET LATTER'S REACTION.

3. AT THAT POINT SADAT REMINDED WEIZMAN THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A LETTER FROM BEGIN. SADAT DESCRIBED THE LETTER AS A GOOD ONE. ON THE EVENING PRIOR TO WEIZMAN'S ARRIVAL, HOWEVER, BEGIN HAD GIVEN A VERY BAD SPEECH. SADAT WANTED WEIZMAN TO KNOW THAT IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR HIS HIGH PERSONAL REGARD FOR WEIZMAN, HE WOULD NEVER HAVE RECEIVED WEIZMAN AFTER THE BEGIN SPEECH. WEIZMAN ASSURED SADAT THAT HE AND THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ARE SEEKING TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE VARIOUS PEACE ISSUES. THIS SHOULD NOT BE

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EXPECTED IN ONE OR TWO DAYS; IT WOULD TAKE SEVERAL WEEKS.
THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, WEIZMAN INSISTED, ARE AREAS FROM
WHICH THE ISRAELIS WILL NOT WITHDRAW. ALL ISRAELI
PARTIES, INCLUDING THE OPPOSITION, OPPOSE SUCH WITHDRAWAL.

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4. SADAT REPLIED THAT WITHOUT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM
THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, NO SOLUTION CAN BE REACHED. THE
PEACE PROCESS, SADAT ASSERTED, SHOULD NOT BE STOPPED
BECAUSE OF ISRAELI FIXATION. THE PROBLEM OF THE WEST
BANK HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND SADAT
HAD PROVIDED VARIOUS ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS. IN PRESIDENT
CARTER'S "LETTER" (REPORT), IT HAD BEEN STATED THAT
SADAT TOLD BEGIN THAT GOE DOES NOT WANT AN INDEPENDENT
PALESTINIAN STATE AND HAD SUGGESTED THAT THIS BE MADE
PUBLIC.

5. HAVING THIS IN MIND, SADAT SAID TO WEIZMAN THAT SUCH
A PALESTINIAN ENTITY SHOULD BE LINKED WITH JORDAN OR,
ALTERNATIVELY, BE MADE INTO A "DEMILITARIZED COUNTRY."
ISRAEL SHOULD DO SOMETHING "GALLANT" AND PUBLICLY DECLARE
ITS WILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW TO THE 67 BOUNDARIES AND
IMPLEMENT UN RESOLUTION 242. IN THAT WAY THE WEST BANK
WOULD BE RETURNED TO JORDAN AND GAZA TO EGYPT. EVERY
CONFRONTATION STATE SHOULD BE ASKED TO SIT DOWN WITH
ISRAEL AND DISCUSS SECURITY REQUIREMENTS. WITH THIS KIND
OF A DECLARATION, SADAT SAID HE WOULD PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE
THAT HE IS READY TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS: EGYPT
WOULD NEGOTIATE FOR GAZA AND JORDAN FOR THE WEST BANK. IF
KING HUSSEIN DOES NOT WISH TO DO SO, EGYPT IS READY TO
UNDERTAKE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE WEST BANK AS WELL.

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6. IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, SADAT TOLD WEIZMAN, ALL ISRAELI SECURITY REQUIREMENTS COULD BE WORKED OUT. THERE COULD BE A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS WITH THE "SPECIAL COUNCIL" SUGGESTED BY BEGIN AND ISRAELI MILITARY ENCAMPMENTS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. PERHAPS JORDAN AND EGYPT COULD HELP WITH THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

7. WEIZMAN REITERATED THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE BECAUSE OF SECURITY PROBLEMS IT WOULD CREATE. ON HIS PART, SADAT REITERATED THAT IN SECURITY DISCUSSIONS WITH EGYPT AND JORDAN, ALL ISRAELI CONCERNS COULD BE DISCUSSED AND RESOLVED. NOTHING WOULD BE FORCED ON ISRAEL OR ON ANYONE. WITH THAT THE DISCUSSIONS HAD STOPPED.

8. LAST EVENING, AFTER YESTERDAY'S SESSION, SADAT BECAME CONCERNED THAT HE MIGHT HAVE GIVEN WEIZMAN THE IMPRESSION THAT HE AGREES TO AN INDEFINITE ISRAELI MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. HE THEREFORE CALLED ANOTHER MEETING WITH WEIZMAN THIS MORNING TO CLARIFY THAT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (IN WHICH ISRAELI

MILITARY ENCAMPMENTS COULD EXIST) SHOULD BE FIVE YEARS, AFTER WHICH THERE SHOULD BE SELF-DETERMINATION. SADAT REPEATED HIS IDEA THAT THE OUTCOME SHOULD BE SOME LINK WITH JORDAN OR, IF THE PALESTINIANS CHOOSE, A "DEMILITARIZED INDEPENDENT STATE." SOME WAY SHOULD BE FOUND OUT OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. ALL SECURITY ASPECTS, SADAT REPEATED, SHOULD BE FULLY DISCUSSED AND AGREED UPON.

9. WEIZMAN SAID HE WOULD REPORT TO THE CABINET THIS COMING SUNDAY. HE ADDED THAT, IF AGREEABLE TO SADAT, ISRAEL WOULD LIKE TO SEND BARAK AND PERHAPS MEIR ROSENNE ON A SECRET FOLLOW-UP VISIT TO EGYPT AFTER THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS CONSIDERED WHAT KIND OF WEST BANK/GAZA DETAILS MIGHT BE DISCUSSED. SADAT RESPONDED THAT GOE IS READY TO RECEIVE BARAK AND ROSENNE, BUT SUGGESTED THEY NOT ARRIVE FOR TEN DAYS OR SO BECAUSE OF OTHER PRESIDENTIAL COMMITMENTS. (MUBARAK LATER TOLD ME THAT USAMA AL BAZ WILL PROBABLY REPRESENT EGYPTIAN SIDE IN SUCH

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TALKS, AND WILL BE FULLY BRIEFED BY THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE TALKS BEGIN.) SADAT ALSO TOLD WEIZMAN IN THIS MORNING'S SESSION THAT HE HAD JUST MET WITH A DELEGATION FROM GAZA. THE GAZANS HAD INSISTED UPON SOME FORM OF SELF-DETERMINATION. THIS, ACCORDING TO MUBARAK, WAS THE END OF THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS.

10. DESCRIBING THE TALKS, MUBARAK NOTED THEY WERE INCONCLUSIVE. NO PROGRESS WAS MADE AND THIS HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED. WEIZMAN, MUBARAK NOTED, HAD MENTIONED IN PASSING THE DESIRABILITY OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMMITTEES RESUMING DISCUSSIONS, BUT SADAT HAD ASKED WHAT THESE COMMITTEES WOULD TALK ABOUT IN THE ABSENCE OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. WEIZMAN APPARENTLY MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WHICH THE ISRAELIS PUBLICIZED TWO DAYS AGO. NOR HAD WEIZMAN MENTIONED ANYTHING ABOUT THE BEGIN PLAN AND THE FACT THAT NO REPLY HAD YET BEEN RECEIVED. AT ONE POINT, HOWEVER, BARAK REPORTEDLY ASKED IF, IN CONSIDERING WEST BANK ALTERNATIVES AT THE END OF THE TRANSITIONAL

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PERIOD, THREE VARIANTS MIGHT BE MENTIONED: LINK WITH JORDAN, INDEPENDENT STATE AND LINK WITH ISRAEL. SADAT RESPONDED THE LAST SHOULD NOT BE MENTIONED NOW. IT WOULD SIMPLY CREATE COMPLICATIONS WITH THE ARABS. NO DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES CURRENTLY EXISTS AND NO VARIANTS COULD BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A DECLARATION.

11. COMMENT: WHETHER THIS IS THE WHOLE STORY OF THE

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TALKS, I AM UNABLE TO SAY. MUBARAK SPOKE WITHOUT NOTES AND FROM MEMORY. JUDGING FROM HIS COMMENTS, THE ISRAELIS SEEM ANXIOUS TO USE THE UPCOMING BARAK/ROSENNE MISSION TO TRY TO PROBE EGYPT'S IDEAS ON THE DETAILS OF A POSSIBLE WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT. WHEN I MADE THIS POINT TO MUBARAK HE AGREED. I REMINDED HIM OF OUR RECENT MESSAGE URGING GOE TO GIVE US MORE DETAILED IDEAS ON THEIR THINKING RE THE MODALITIES OF A WEST BANK/GAZA TRANSITION PERIOD. MUBARAK SAID HE HAD CONVEYED OUR THOUGHTS TO PRESIDENT AND AGREED GOE NEEDS GIVE THIS SUB-JECT MORE THOUGHT.

12. SOME OF THE EARLIER BLOOM IS OFF THE WEIZMAN ROSE. ACCORDING MUBARAK, SADAT STILL FINDS WEIZMAN LIKEABLE, BUT AGREES HE IS "SLY" AND NEEDS BE WATCHED. EGYPTIANS

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HAVE ALSO BECOME CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT WEIZMAN HAS NO POLITICAL BASE AND LITTLE ABILITY INFLUENCE BEGIN. MUBARAK DESCRIBED ATMOSPHERE OF TALKS AS FRIENDLY AND CORRECT, BUT WITHOUT PREVIOUS WARMTH. EILTS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PEACE, VISITS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978CAIRO09802
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P850059-1485, N780004-0186
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, EXDIS
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3276007
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WEIZMAN VISIT--EGYPTIAN ACCOUNT
TAGS: PBOR, PEPR, OVIP, EG, IS, XF, (WEIZMAN, EZER)
To: STATE TEL AVIV MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/6062f2c3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014